*278 *767 time of day during which the sickman is expected to consume the medicaments (often on rising, or before going to bed), the relevant numerological details (e.g., the medicaments are to be eaten seven times daily for seven *[192] days), and the manner of application. Therapies may establish that medicaments be consumed in a unitary form (e.g., eaten together with injera bread), in multiple forms (e.g., eaten with bread, drunk with talla beer, and washed with as with a lotion) and, if in multiple forms, whether applied at the same or different therapeutic sessions.[5]

758 Therapies also designate regimens to be followed once the pathogenic substance has been successfully removed 4 [833] from the sickman. Frequently, regimens for convalescence *[192] following serious (kobode) ailments direct the recuperant to rest in some isolated place, away from any populated area, where he will be safe from the shadows of humans, particularly those fresh from coitus. Some regimens require him to sit in a darkened hut, others place him beside the hearth fire, while still others have him rest in

[5]Only therapy for buda possession (see below), requires the application of different, discrete medical preparations at the same therapeutic sessions.

*753 754 owning debteras (as well as occasional laymen) possess recipes. The third variety of pathogenic kifat works [842] [833] sends sexual maladies. Sterility, considered a very serious ailment, is sent to women only. Impotency affects both sexes; it is experienced by women as uncontrollable crying when approached or touched by any man, and is often confused with aynitila.

754 The most commonly owned non-pathogenic kifat works belong to a category known as "amderab". These works enable the operator to send onto his victim's house and fields misfortunes of fire, water (as destructive hail and rain storms), earth (as rains of stones and clods), air (as destructive winds), and putrification (as noxious odors). Other non-pathogenic kifat works have a domestic aspect (e.g., prepared foods are continually spoiled, food stores are consumed at an unnatural rate, servants grow discontent with the master's household, and domestic animals wander away); a mercantile aspect (e.g., trading rivals find it difficult to sell their goods, rival talla sellers find their newly prepared beer turning to a pitch-like consistency); or bring misfortunes at the hands of other human agents (e.g., the victim's son is made a wastrel, kenezereña, the victim repeatedly and unintentionally incurs the enmity of people, the victim exposes himself to ambush by enemies).

At its simplest, a kifat work requires a recitation,

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder



*756 *787 *793 ganel out of doors, by the side of the lake or river in which he lives. When clients attend, however, the ganel is pulled in the debtera's room, since preparations for controlling the demon are easier to arrange, and a tedi- [833] ous journey is avoided. The ganel puller is often required to observe a period of chastity prior to contacting the ganel, and if the ganel is called into a room, it must be a place where sexual relations are never had.

A ganel-calling session begins with the recitation of texts, composed mainly or exclusively of asmat words. Unlike abinet recitations in other contexts, the debtera's text is repeated until the desired effect is ob- [782] tained (i.e., the ganel has been pulled). In addition to the recitation, an animal (most commonly a chicken) favored by the ganel is sacrificed. A debtera's initial attempt to pull a ganel often requires recitations over a week or more, until success is obtained. Once the ganel has been called successfully, subsequent sessions take less time. An experienced debtera can call a ganel familiar in less than an hour, although even he must expect lengthy recitations when attempting to reach a ganel with whom he has not yet conversed.

The debtera perceives these activities as a mixture of compulsion (through asmat) and blandishments (by the sacrifice), that oblige the ganel to assume a cooperative attitude. Once a ganel has responded positively to a